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Discourse.

cret history of a composure ; what was the occasion of such a discourse or poem, whom such a sentence aimed at, what person lay disguised in such a character : for by this means they could see their author in a variety of lights, and receive several different entertainments from the same passage. We, on the contrary, can only please ourselves with the wit or good sense of a writer, as it stands stripped of all those accidental circumstances that at first helped to set it off. We have him but in a single view, and only discover such essential standing beauties as no time or years can possibly deface."

Discourse.

"Nothing can be more delightful than to see two characters facing each other all along, and running parallel through the whole piece ; to compare feature with feature, to find out the nice resemblances in every touch, and to see where the copy fails, and where it comes up to the original. The reader cannot but be pleased to have an acquaintance thus rising by degrees in his imagination, for whilst the mind is busy in applying every particular, and adjusting the several parts of the description, it is not a little delighted with its discov-

Spectator 273.

liar beauty to those two poems, and was therefore contrived with very great judgment—I mean the authors having chosen for their heroes persons who were so nearly related to the people for whom they wrote. Achilles was a Greek, and Aeneas the remote founder of Rome. By this means their countrymen (whom they principally proposed to themselves for their readers) were particularly attentive to all the parts of their story, and sympathized with their heroes in all their adventures. A Roman could not but rejoice in the escapes, successes and victories of Aeneas, and be grieved at any defeats, misfortunes or disappointments that befell him ; or a Greek must have the same regard for Achilles. And it is plain that each of those poems have (*sic*) lost this great advantage, among those readers to whom their heroes are as strangers or indifferent persons."

Spectator 416.

"In all these instances, this secondary pleasure of the imagination proceeds from that action of the mind, which compares the ideas arising from the original objects, with the ideas we receive from the statue, picture, description or sound that represents them. It is impossible for us to give the necessary reason, why this operation of the mind is attended with so much pleasure, as I have before observed on the same occasion ; but we find a great variety of entertainments derived from this single principle, for it is this that not only gives us

Discourse.

eries, and feels something like the satisfaction of an author from his own composure. . . . When Phidias had carved out his Jupiter, and the spectator stood astonished at so awful and majestic a figure, he surprised them still more by telling them it was a copy ; and to make his words true, showed them the original, in that magnificent description of Jupiter, towards the latter end of the first Iliad. The comparing both together probably discovered secret graces in each of them, and gave new beauty to their performances."

Harvard University.

Spectator 416.

a relish of statuary, painting and description, but makes us delight in all the actions and arts of mimicry."

E. K. BROADUS.

ALL OF THE FIVE FICTITIOUS ITALIAN EDITIONS OF WRITINGS OF MACHIAVELLI AND THREE OF THOSE OF PIETRO ARETINO PRINTED BY JOHN WOLFE OF LONDON (1584-1588).

A. MACHIAVELLI.

1. *I Discorsi di Nicolo Machiavelli, sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio. Con due Tavole, etc. Nouellamente emmendati, & con somma cura ristampati.* | Device of a flourishing palm tree with toads and serpents about the root, and in its branches the words : *Il vostro malignare non giova nulla* | In Palermo | Appresso gli heredi d'Antoniello degli Antonielli a xxviiij di Genajo, 1584. Preface by the printer to the reader with promise to publish more of Machiavelli same date and place. Carte xvi + 200. 8°.

2. *Il Prencipe di Nicolo Machiavelli, Al Magnifico Lorenzo etc. Con alcune altre operette, i titoli delle quali trouerai nella seguente facciata.* | Device of the palm tree, etc., as in No. 1. In Palermo | Appresso gli heredi d'Antoniello degli Antonielli | a xxviiij di Gennaio, 1584. | Always in the same volume with the preceding but with

separate numbering of leaves and sheets. No Preface to the Reader. Carte 0 + 80. 8°.

3. *Libro dell'Arte della Guerra di Nicolo Machia- uelli Cittadino, et Se- cretario Fiorentino. Nouamente corretti (!), & con somma diligenza ristampati (!).* | Device of the palm tree as in Nos. 1 and 2. | *In Palermo appres so Antonello degli Antonelli.* | No year. On the cancel title page, which in most editions takes the place of the original one, the wording of the title is changed, and device, place and publisher are omitted and replaced by MDLXXXVII. No Preface to the Reader. Carte i + 151 and an extra size Plate for Figura vii. 8°.

4. *Historie di Nicolo Macchia- uelli, Cittadino, et Secretario Fiorentino, Al Santissimo, etc. Nuouamente ammendate, & con somma diligenza ristampate, con licenza de superiori.* | Giolito's device | *In Piacenza appresso gli heredi di Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari.* | 1587. | Preface to the Reader with a reference to Antoniello's promise dated Piacenza, June 2, 1587. Pp. xii + 568. 12°.

5. *Lasino doro di Nicolo Macchiauelli, con tutte laltre sue operette. La contenenza delle quali ha- uerai nella seguente facciata.* | Lower part of Giglio's device | *In Roma MDLXXXVIII.* | Preface to the Reader with a reference to Antoniello's promise dated Roma, May 20, 1588. 8°.

B. PIETRO ARETINO.

1. A general title for the entire volume is lacking.

1. *La Prima Parte de Ragiona- menti di M. Pietro Aretino, co- gnominato il flagello de orencipi, il veritiero, el diui no, diuisa in tre Giornate, la contenenza de le quali si porra ne la facciata seguente.* | *Veritas odium parit.* | MDLXXXVIII. | Considerable space below. Preface by Barbargria to Reader dated Bengodi, October 21, 1584.

La Seconda Parte de Ragiona menti, etc., as above, Doppo le quali habbiamo aggiunto il Piaceuol Ragionamento del Zoppino, composto da questo medesimo autore per suo piacere. | *Veritas, etc.* | No year. Close Bengodi. *Commento di Ser Agresto da Ficaruolo sopra la Prima Ficata del Padre Siceo.* | *Con la Diceria de Nasi.* | No year. Preface to Reader by L'Herede di Barbargria

dated Bengodi January (!) 12, 1584. Pp. xii + 228, viii + 401, 0 + 142. 8°. The numbering of sheets is continuous throughout the volume.

2. *Quattro Comedie del Diuino Pietro Aretino. Cioè Il Marescalco La Talanta. La Cortegiana L'Hipocrito. Nouellamente ritornate, per mezzo della stampa, a luce, a richiesta de conosci tori del lor valore.* | Head of Pietro surrounded by *D. Petrus. Aretinus. Flagellum. Principum.* in shape of a coin. | MDLXXXVIII. | Preface with a reference to Barbargria's promise, but no place or date. Separate title pages with year for the last three comedies. Pp. xvi + 292. 8°.

3. *La Terza, et Ultima Parte de Ragiona- menti del Diuino Pietro Aretino. Ne la quale si contengono due ragionamenti cio è de le Corti, e del Giuoco, cosa morale, e bella.* | Head, etc., as in No. 2. | *Veritas Odium parit.* | *Appresso Gio. Andrea del Melagrano* | 1589. | Preface with a reference to the promise of Barbargria dated from Valcerca January 13, 1589. Special title page for second part: *Il Ragionamento del diuino* | etc. | *nel quale si parla del Gioco con mora- lita piaceuole.* | Head as in No. 2 and M.D.XLXXXIX (!) | instead of 1589. Carte iii + 203. 8°.

The problem of the real home and origin of the five fictitious Italian editions of Machiavelli of the years 1584-88 was first raised by Bongì,¹ who, realizing that they could not possibly have been printed in Italy, acutely conjectured from the peculiar lustre of the vellum of the binding of some of them that they must have come from England. At his instigation Alfred W. Pollard of the British Museum gave the matter some attention, as a result of which the following entries were made in the Museum Catalogue. Under *Discorsi*, 'The initial letters show that this book was printed at London by John Wolfe. The device on the title page was subsequently used by Adam Islip.' Under *Prencipe*: 'Printed like the *Discorsi* with the same imprint at London by John Wolfe.' Under *Arte*: 'Probably printed secretly at London by John Wolfe.' Under *Historie* simply: 'Probably printed secretly in London.'

¹ See: *Archivio Storico Italiano*, ser. 5, vol. XIX, 1897, and my article in the November issue of *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. XXI, 1906.

Under *Asino*, the same entry. The three editions of Pietro Aretino have, as far as I am aware of it, apart from Bonghi's conjecture that the second might have been printed in France or England, not only never been attributed to John Wolfe but not even been located in England. The Museum Catalogue makes no suggestion regarding the first and puts 'Venice?' after the second and 'Paris?' after the third, while Bertani,² the latest biographer of Pietro Aretino, adds Venezia to the firm appearing on the title page of the third.

My own interest in this question was not thoroughly aroused until last summer, when, during a visit to Richmond, Indiana, I happened to notice perchance in the choice private library of some friends of mine, that Figura VII of the *Arte* of 1587 must in all probability have been taken from Peter Whitehorne's English translation of Machiavelli's work, which was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth and in the years of 1560-88 passed through no less than three editions. This prospective confirmation of the English origin of one of the five books gave me the conviction that a special investigation of the whole matter might yield more definite results than as yet had been obtained, and, relinquishing for the present my intention of continuing my study of Machiavelli in Florence and Venice, I came to London, where even my most sanguine expectations have been surpassed. My Richmond observation proved correct, a minute comparison and measuring of the type and the initial letters of other books printed by John Wolfe made it appear even more probable that he had issued the *Arte* and the *Historie* than that he had published the *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe*, and the last lingering doubts, of which I could not rid myself because I had noticed a few of Wolfe's initial letters also with other London printers of the time, were suddenly dispelled by direct and irrefutable testimony.

Searching one day for information on the life and person of John Wolfe, in the unparalleled Reference Library of the Museum, I came across *Typographical Antiquities or an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great*

Britain and Ireland: containing Memoirs of our Ancient Printers, and a Register of Books printed by them, from the year MCCCCLXXI to the year MDC. Begun by the late JOSEPH AMES, etc. Considerably augmented—by WILLIAM HERBERT, etc.—London, MDCCLXXXV, etc., 3. vols. 4°. I eagerly turned to John Wolfe who occupies Vol. II, p. 1170-1189 and, after casting a glance on the few remarks about his person and noticing that he was surnamed Machivill, I began to peruse the titles of the books he had printed. Nothing under 1584, 1587 or 1588 that had any special bearing on the question in hand, but when I came to 1593 I felt a thrill of delight. *Philadelphus, or A Defence of Brutes, and the Brutans History. Written by R. H.* Device a flourishing palm tree, with serpents and toads about the root, having this motto: *Il vostro malignare non gioua nulla, etc., etc.* Imprinted by him, 1593, etc.³ The palm tree of the *Discorsi*, the *Prencipe*, the *Arte*, in a book duly accredited to John Wolfe six years before Adam Islip made the first use of it when it had become rather worn out! That settled John Wolfe's claim to the first three editions. But that was not all. At the end of the list of books the titles of which were given in full there followed the statement: 'He had also licenses for the following,' and twice more I had occasion to rejoice. Under 1587 it said, '*Historio (!) de (!) Nicolo Machiavelli Cittadino et Secretario Florentino (!)*' and 1588, '*L'asine (!) d'oro dy (!) Nicolo Macchavelli (!)*.' The fourth and fifth directly accredited to John Wolfe and not even printed secretly. The Machiavelli problem was solved. But something else a little farther on caught my attention, still in 1588: '*Dialogo di Pietro Aretino vel (!) quale si parla del graco (!) con moranta (!) Piaceuole,*' in which the title of the second part of our third work of Pietro Aretino may be recognized and immediately afterwards, '*Ragionamento nel quale M. Pietro Aretino figura quattro suoi amici che fanellano (!) delle corti del mondo, e di quella del cielo.*' This, to be sure, is not the title which our third work has now but that which the first part had in the old edition of Novara, 1538. John Wolfe, therefore, in this case evidently produced

² Carlo Bertani, *Pietro Aretino e le sue Opere secondo nuove indagini*. Sondrio, 1901, p. 363, note.

³ The device shows some wear, proving that it was not used here for the first time.

the books he was going to reprint, not his own copy. Under these circumstances it may seem doubtful whether the '*Lettere di Pietro Aretino*,' for which he likewise received a license, were ever actually printed by him or not. The Museum does not seem to possess a copy that could be ascribed to him.

Applying to the Superintendent of the Reading Room, I learned through his courtesy that there also existed a diplomatic reprint of the principal source of Ames and Herbert's work, which fortunately covered the same period, viz.: *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A. D.*, etc. Edited by EDWARD ARBER, etc., *Privately Printed*. London 1875 ff. 5 vols. 4°, from the second volume of which I transcribe for fuller information the following items:

18 Septembris [i. e. 1587]

John wolf. Receaued of him for printinge an Italian booke intituled *Historie di NICOLO MACHIAVELLI* Cittadino et Secretario Fiorentino. Authourised vnder th[e] archbishop of CANTERBURY hand vi^a.

The statement '*Con licenza de superiori*' on the title of our edition is therefore not a fake; the Primate of England who, at that time, together with the bishop of London, exercised the supreme supervision on new publications, having sanctioned it.

xvii^o die Septembris [1588]

John wolf. Allowed vnto him for his copie, to be printed in Italian | a booke intituled *L'asino D'oro. Dy* (!). NICOLO MACCHIAVELLI | vppon Condicton that yt may be allowed hereafter [no sum stated] beinge nowe allowed vnder th[e] h[and]es of master HARTWELL and master warden coldock. |

The archbishop, therefore, was not specially consulted this time nor was he in case of the following works of Pietro Aretino.

xx^o die Septembris. [1588]

John wolfe | Item allowed vnto him for his copie vnder th[e] h[and]es aforesaid. *Quattro Comedie Del Deuino* (!) PIETRO ARETINO [no sum stated.]

This entry was overlooked by Ames and Herbert in the compilation of their work, and estab-

lishes John Wolfe's title to the second work of Pietro Aretino. Finally:

xiii^o octobris [1588]

John wolf. Allowed vnto him for his copie *Dialogo Di PIETRO ARETINO nel quale riparla del groco* (!) *con moralita Raaceuole* (!). [no sum stated] vnder master HARTWELL hand and Th[e] wardens.

J. wolf. Allowed vnto him for his copy. *Ragionamento. nel quale. Messire PIETRO ARETINO figura Quattro suoi Amici che fanellano* (!) *delle Conti* (!) *Del mondo. e di quella Del cielo*. [no sum stated] vnder master HARTWELL and Th[e] wardens handes.

After this follows the license for *Lettere di PIETRO ARETINO* discussed above.

It remains for me to give some of the circumstantial evidence of type and initial letters, and, although the discovery of the device of the palm-tree on John Wolfe's *Philadelphus* of 1593 assures his title to the *Discorsi*, the *Prencipe* and the *Arte* of Machiavelli, they will not be excluded in the following.

1. *Discorsi* and *Prencipe*: The round characters of the Preface to the Reader as well as the italics of the body of the text and the two principal kinds of initial letters all recur, as must have been stated by Pollard to Bonghi, *l. c.*, in the *Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore* by Ubaldino, printed by Wolfe in 1581. Examples of one or both kinds of these initial letters, however, are also met with in books by several other printers, viz., in Giordano Bruno's *Explicatio Triginta Sigillorum* of 1583, probably done by Vautrollier; *An Answer to the Untruthes*, etc., printed by John Jackson for Thomas Cadman, 1589; Ubaldino: *A Discourse concerninge the Spanish Fleete*, etc.; imprinted by A. Hatfield, 1590; *The Florentine Historie*, printed by Thomas Creede for William Ponsonby, 1595, and *The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction* and *A Discourse Against Nicholas Machiavell*, etc., printed by Adam Islip, with whom we also found the palm tree, in 1599 and 1602.

2. *Arte*: The italics of the text are identical with those of the Prefaces to the Reader in the *Asino* and the *Quattro Comedie* of Pietro Aretino and other books printed by Wolfe. The little ornament over the Proemio is found in the *Pastor*

Fido by Guarini, printed by Wolfe in 1591. The peculiar frame of the initial letter—a wrap is suspended above the centre—of the Proemio recurs in Stow's *Survey of London*, printed by Wolfe in 1598, pp. 60, 102 and 161. The initial letters of the several books are duplicated in Ubaldino: *Le Vite delle Donne Illustri*, printed by Wolfe in 1591, viz., Books III, IV, V and VII, on pp. 70, 54, 5 and 7.⁴ Finally, and this is the most telling correspondence, the very peculiar ornamental strip of the close of the Proemio and Book I occurs once more in Stow's *Survey*, p. 450, top.

If the *Historie* were not given to John Wolf by the Registers, parallels of type could be adduced from the *Pastor Fido* and of initial letters from the *Vite delle Donne*. Thus everything tends to bear out the evidence of the palm tree and the Registers and to confirm John Wolfe's title to all the editions of Machiavelli.

As for Pietro Aretino's second work which is accredited by the Registers, I will only say that it is in type, number of lines on page, etc., exactly like the *Comedie* and the *Asino*, and shares one initial letter with the *Vite delle Donne*, another kind with the *Comedie* and *Asino*, and the device on the title page with the *Comedie*. It, therefore, cannot possibly have been printed in Venice.

3. The first volume of Aretino. Here John Wolfe's claim is based on correspondences of type, initial letters and other ornaments almost exclusively since there exist two more editions of the first and second parts of it with the same preface by the fictitious Barbagrighia and the same year and date. Very fortunately circumstantial evidence is abundant. For convenience sake I designate the Parts by Roman and the Giornate by Arabic figures. The italics are those of the *Arte* and the other books cited there, and the large initial letters those of the *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe*, though, as was stated above, they were not

confined to John Wolfe. The frame of the initial letter with the suspended wrap I, 1 is that of the *Arte* and the *Survey*. The frames of two kinds of initial letters not found in any other of the eight works under consideration likewise recur in the *Survey*, viz.: that of the Preface of Barbagrighia on p. 450, and those of II, 1; III, Proemio and III, Lettera on pp. 58, 94 and 147. Thus all initial letters can be duplicated from other books printed by Wolfe. But still more satisfactory evidence is offered by the recurrence of the characteristic large square ornament which serves to fill the vacant space at the close of several divisions of Aretino's volume at the close of the text of the often quoted *Survey*. Circumstantial evidence of such completeness cannot fail to carry a good deal of weight with it. It will be further strengthened in the second part of this paper, which will deal with John Wolfe's personality, the reasons for his not putting his name on these editions and his merits for the promotion of the printing of Italian books in England.

A. GERBER.

Flensburg, Germany.

THE FRENCH NOVEL OF INTRIGUE FROM 1150 TO 1300. II.

One of the most interesting of romances, intrinsically and historically, is *Amadas et Idoine* (c. 1180).¹⁵ The author has not looked abroad for his heroine. Idoine is a daughter of Burgundy, positive, energetic, commonsense, and of a vigorous morality. Amadas, having overcome Idoine's indifference, is called away home. His sweetheart is married by her father to the Count of Nevers. In her extremity Idoine summons the dread spinster Clotho and her sisters. The three frighten the Count into the belief that his countess has an awful malady.¹⁶ The disappointed Amadas, meanwhile, has become raving mad, and

⁴ Again these two kinds of initial letters did not belong to John Wolfe exclusively, the frame of the first recurring in 'An Answer to the Untruthes,' printed, as stated above, by John Jackson for Thomas Cadman, in 1589. The second in *The Florentine Historie*, also cited above, printed by Thomas Creede for William Ponsonby, 1595. The little ornament above the Proemio is found in practically identical shape in Giordano Bruno's *Candelaio*, Pariggi, M.D. LXXXII.

¹⁵ *Amadas et Idoine*. p. p. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1863. Cf. *An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall*, Oxford, 1901. Gaston Paris, p. 386 ff.

¹⁶ Engingniés est, partant s'en tient, l. 2441. Cf. *Cligès*, l. 3329.